

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 ACDE-00 AECE-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00

H-03 INR-11 IO-14 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04

PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15

TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07 DRC-01 /153 W  
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P R 301440Z SEP 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0447

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0104

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0273

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD SEPTEMBER  
16-27, 1974

1. BEGIN HIGHLIGHTS: FOR WESTERN ALLIES (AD HOC  
GROUP) ROUND FOUR OF MBFR STARTED WITH REVIEW OF  
IMPRESSIONS GLEANED AND GUIDANCE RECEIVED BY  
DELEGATIONS DURING HOME CONSULTATIONS. GREECE  
CONTINUES TO PARTICIPATE, AND A REPLACEMENT FOR ITS  
FORMER DELEGATION CHIEF -- WHO BECAME AMBASSADOR  
TO CYPRUS -- IS IN THE OFFING FOR MID-OCTOBER. THE  
GENERAL MOOD OF THE ALLIES IN VIENNA SEEMS TO BE ONE  
OF "MODERATE PESSIMISM" ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR

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RAPID MOVEMENT FROM THE EAST THOUGH THERE IS AGREEMENT

THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD KEEP THE INITIATIVE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND URGE THE EAST TO MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO PROGRESS. THUSFAR PRELIMINARY EAST-WEST CONTACTS SEEM TO INDICATE THAT THE EAST IS NOT READY TO SHOW NEW MATERIAL IF IT HAS ANY, IN THIS ROUND. EASTERN REPS CONTINUE TO CRITICIZE THE MAJOR WESTERN PROPOSALS AND TO EXTOL ITS OWN IN FAMILIAR TERMS. THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE AT THE TALKS CONTINUES GOOD. STARTING WITH THE FIRST PLENARY ON SEPTEMBER 24, THE CURRENT ROUND WILL APPARENTLY FOLLOW THE PREVIOUS WORK PATTERN OF ONE SESSION A WEEK, WITH ALTERNATE SPEAKERS. THE INFORMALS WILL GET UNDER WAY ON OCTOBER 1. END HIGHLIGHTS.

#### AD HOC GROUP ACTIVITIES

1. THE TWELVE ALLIED DELEGATIONS MET ON SEPTEMBER 18 IN THEIR FIRST AD HOC GROUP (AHG) MEETING OF THE CURRENT NEGOTIATION ROUND. REPORTS ON HOME CONSULTATIONS DURING THE RECESS RESULTED IN AN AHG DISCUSSION ON PROSPECTS AND TACTICS. THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE REPORTED ON THE WASHINGTON VIEW THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN THE INITIATIVE IN ORDER TO KEEP THE TALKS FOCUSED ON THE ALLIED PROGRAM, AND THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD THEREFORE CONTINUE TO DEVELOP THIS POSTURE, AT A STEADY AND DELIBERATE PACE. HE ALSO TOLD THE AHG THAT HE HAD MET WITH THE PRESIDENT ON SEPTEMBER 14, RELATING MR FORD'S FAMILIARITY WITH AND INTEREST IN MBFR ISSUES, AND THE IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

2. OTHER ALLIES, PARTICULARLY THE UK, CANADA AND THE FRG REPS REFLECTED NATIONAL ESTIMATES ABOUT CHANCES FOR PROGRESS DURING THIS ROUND. DESPITE THESE NEGATIVE VIEWS, THE AHG AGREED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD IF AT ALL POSSIBLE MAINTAIN THE INITIATIVE IN THE TALKS. THE U.S. DELEGATION URGED THE ALLIES TO NOT BECOME PSYCHOLOGICALLY WEDDED TO EXPECTATIONS OF NO PROGRESS, AND ABOVE ALL, TO STRESS THE IMPRESSION WITH THE EAST THAT THE WEST HAS A RIGHT TO EXPECT A SUB-SECRET

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STANTIVE RESPONSE FROM THE WARSAW PACT IN THE PRESENT ROUND.

PLENARY NO. 44, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24

3. THE FIRST PLENARY OF THE CURRENT ROUND MET ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24. AHG VIEWS TEND TO DIFFER ON THE ACTUAL REASON FOR STANDARD QUALITY OF THE RELATIVELY SHORT CZECH PRESENTATION SPEECH. THE U.S.

REPRESENTATIVE SAW IT AS A "HOLDING OPERATION", AND ALL AGREED THAT IT CONTAINED NO NEW ELEMENTS.

4. IN HIS PLENARY PRESENTATION, CZECH REP KLEIN REPEATED THE STANDARD PACT POSITION CALLING FOR REDUCTIONS BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS FROM THE START, AND CALLED THE WESTERN APPROACH UNFAIR BY COMPARISON BECAUSE IT AIMS AT GAINING "UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES". THE CZECH DELEGATE SAID IN CONCLUSION THAT THE "ARTIFICIALLY FORMULATED (WESTERN) CONCEPT" CANNOT SERVE "AS THE CONSTRUCTIVE BASIS FOR OUR NEGOTIATIONS."

5. THE ALLIED PRESENTATION, MADE BY CANADIAN AMBASSADOR GRANDE, INTRODUCED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A FORMAL MEETING THE "OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS" PHASING FORMULA IN ACCORD WITH GUIDANCE RECEIVED FROM NATO. IT EXPRESSES ALLIED WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER COMMITMENT TO SECOND-PHASE REDUCTIONS TO AN AGREED COMMON CEILING ON OVERALL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER ON BOTH SIDES BY ALL NON-U.S. WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THIS PRE-SUPPOSES SATISFACTORY FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT, AND EXEMPTS LUXEMBOURG FORCES. GRANDE RECAPITULATED THE OVERALL ALLIED POSITION, WITH PARTICULAR FOCUS ON THE ISSUE OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET. THE STATEMENT REVIEWED THE FOUR ALLIED LINKAGE PROPOSALS, AND UNDERLINED THE PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE OF THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA. IT EXPRESSED WESTERN

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TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07 DRC-01 /153 W

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P R 301440Z SEP 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0448  
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0105  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0273

FROM US REP MBFR

HOPE FOR MOVEMENT IN THIS NEGOTIATING ROUND, URGED THE EAST TO RESPOND "CONSTRUCTIVELY" TO WESTERN ATTEMPTS TO ADDRESS PACT CONCERN AND ALLUDED TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT INACTIVITY IN THE VIENNA FORUM WILL EVENTUALLY LEAD TO A PESSIMISTIC WORLD OPINION ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE TALKS.

6. AMBASSADOR CAGIATI, ITALIAN REPRESENTATIVE, MADE A BRIEF CLOSING STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE ALLIES AT THE SEPTEMBER 24 PLENARY. IN IT HE REJECTED AS "UNFOUNDED AND UNACCEPTABLE" THE JULY 17 HUNGARIAN STATEMENT WHICH MADE THE EVENTUAL PARTICIPATION OF HUNGARY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS DIRECTLY DEPENDENT ON THE PARTICIPATION OF ITALY. THE STATEMENT RECALLED THAT THE HUNGARIAN  
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QUESTION HAD BEEN LEFT OPEN IN THE PRELIMINARY CONSULTATIONS AND COULD NOT NOW BE BROUGHT INTO ASSOCIATION WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ITALY.

MEDIA REPORTS ON U.S. REVIEW OF TACTICAL NUKES IN EUROPE

7. ALLIED REPS WERE INTERESTED IN SEPTEMBER 23 NEW YORK TIMES FINNEY'S ARTICLE SAYING IN PART THAT OFFICIALS BELIEVE THE 7,000 WARHEADS HAVE ASSUMED A "SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE" SOMEWHAT ANALAGOUS TO THE PRESENCE OF 300,000 AMERICAN TROOPS IN EUROPE. THE U.S. REP EXPLAINED TO THE AD HOC GROUP THE NATURE OF THE CURRENT DEFENSE DEPARTMENT STUDY REQUIRED BY THE NUNN AMENDMENT TO MILITARY BUDGET LEGISLATION. SINCE SOME WESTERN DELEGATIONS INDICATED CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS OF U.S. NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE REPORTED ON A CONVERSATION WITH SECDEF IN WHICH THE LATTER WAS SAID TO BE FULLY AWARE OF THE POTENTIAL IMPACT OF THE WARHEAD STUDY ON THE MBFR TALKS.

BILATERALS

8. EAST-WEST CONTACTS ARE ALOWLY GETTING UNDER WAY. IN A DISCUSSION ON SEPTEMBER 26 WITH SOVIET REPS KHLESTOV AND SMIRNOVSKY, THE U.S. REP SURVEYED FOR THE SOVIETS THE POTENTIAL IMPLICATIONS OF AN EVENTUAL LACK OF AGREEMENT AND SAID IT IS NOW UP TO THEM TO MOVE TO DEMONSTRATE WORKABILITY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN A GENERAL WAY, THE SOVIET REPS ENDORSED THE ANALYSIS THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD EVENTUALLY BE IN DIFFICULTIES IF NO PROGRESS IS MADE IN VIENNA IN THE COMING ROUND. DESPITE THIS, THEY SAID THEIR OFFICIALS ARE "SUSPICIOUS" BECAUSE ALL DIRECT WESTERN PARTICIPANTS STILL REFUSE TO REDUCE FROM THE START. THEY ALSO UNDERLINED THEIR CONCEPT OF THE ESSENTIAL NEED TO KEEP THE PRESENT "BALANCE OF FORCES" WHICH THEY SAID WAS ATTESTED TO BY A NUMBER OF ADMISSIONS MADE BY PROMINENT WESTERN OBSERVERS. THE SOVIET REPS SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES STARTED THE TALKS FROM A "BARGAINING POSITION" WHILE THE EAST INTRODUCED AN "EQUITABLE" REDUCTION PROPOSAL, AND THAT IT IS NOW UP TO THE WEST

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## Message Attributes

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